Rosenberg clemency drive grows as Jan. 12 deadline nears

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By Lawrence Emery

FOR an uncountable number of good people across the U. S.—and in many other parts of the world—Christmas and the Jewish Chanukah (Festival of Lights) this year will be dimmed by the shadow of an electric chair. From Christmas Day it will be but 17 days to the beginning of the week designated as the one in which Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are scheduled to be executed as "atom spies."

On Dec. 10 Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan denied a defense motion to set aside the conviction and refused to stay the sentence. The usually restrained N. Y. **Times** reflected the ghoulish mood of the big press in this headline:

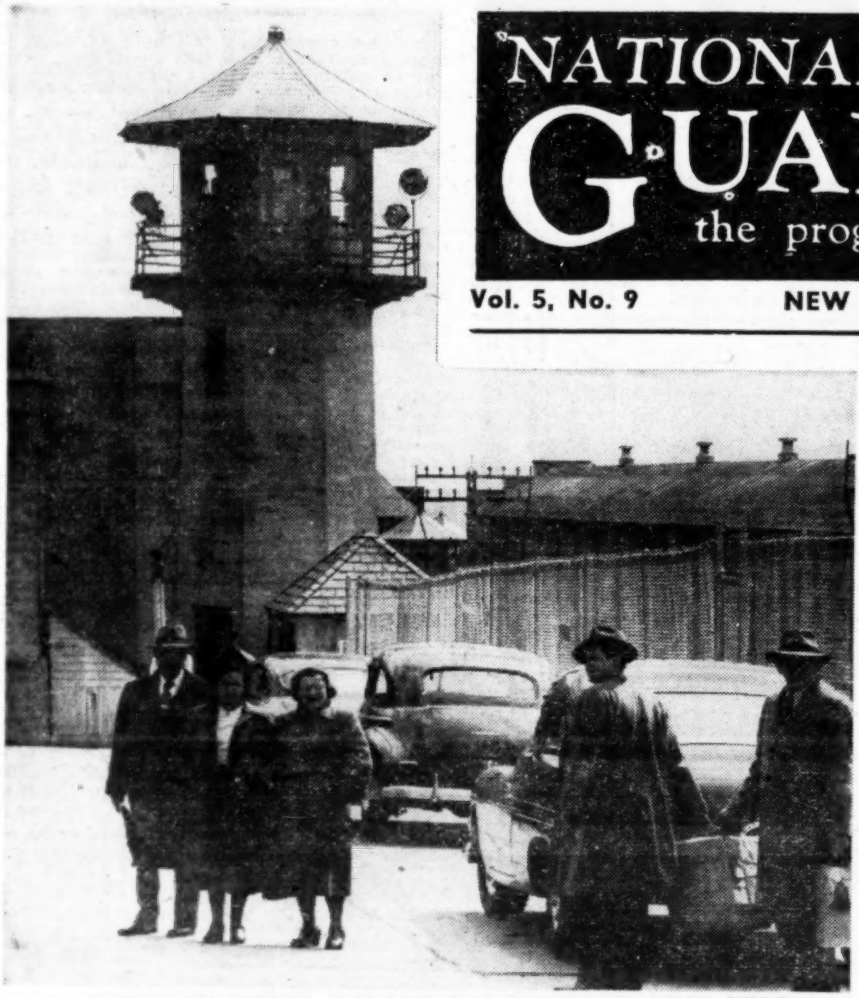
ROSENBERGS MOVE
STEP NEARER CHAIR

On Dec. 11 defense attorney Emanuel H. Bloch applied for a stay of execution pending appeal from Judge Ryan's decision. The U. S. Court of Appeals, which upheld the original conviction and then refused to review its findings, set Dec. 22 for a hearing.

OUR ALERT PRESS: In his ruling, Judge Ryan dismissed the three major grounds raised by the defense: officially-inspired press hysteria which tended to convict the Rosenbergs before the trial; knowing use of perjured testimony by the government; total absence of secrecy about the atom-bomb secret the Rosenbergs allegedly conspired to transmit to the Soviet Union while it was a war-time ally of the U. S. Of the bulky evidence that the Rosenbergs were branded as 'traitors" before the trial—much of it originated with Justice Dept. officials and the prosecution—Ryan said:

> "We enjoy a free press. . . . The accounts of the arrests and subsequent indictments of petitioners tended to allay

(Continued on Page 4)



THE DAY ETHEL ROSENBERG ENTERED SING SING
It was April 11, 1951 — she's in the center of group at left

THIS IS AN URGENT MESSAGE TO ALL READERS

What must be done to save the Rosenbergs

THE PROTEST AGAINST the U. S. government's intention to execute Julius and Ethel Rosenberg has reached worldwide proportions. But for the best chance of success, special steps are required immediately on the home front.

GUARDIAN readers, we believe, need no further convincing of the savagery of the unprecedented sentence, or that its carrying out can mean the sacrifice of wholly innocent people to the propaganda needs of the cold war.

But there is a vast area of humane American opinion which has not been mobilized in the campaign for clemency. It includes especially liberals of the sort who have traditionally joined the great struggles against injustice, from the days of Sacco-Vanzetti to the Scottsboro case and even most recently the case of the Trenton Six, where broad participation helped save the lives of all six with complete freedom for four.

The other most important segment of opinion to be urged to action is that of Jewish organizational life—B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Congress and similar groups.

TO discourage the participation of these groups, government and press have cooperated to the fullest: (1) to red-bait the worldwide campaign to save the Rosenbergs; and (2) to stress the fact that the Rosenberg conviction was won and confirmed by a virtually all-Jewish succession of prosecutors and judges, from the trial on through the Circuit Court and Supreme Court denials of reversal or review.

In addition, the American Civil Liberties Union has in effect joined the propaganda campaign against the Rosenbergs by two unwarranted and unprecedented actions. The first was a letter addressed to Jewish organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League over the signature of ACLU counsel Herbert Monte Levy (GUARDIAN, 5/29), volunteering as ACLU's opinion that no civil liberties issues were at stake in the case.

THE second action occurred last week when, after months of discussion, ACLU made public an 18-4 vote finding no violation of due process in the case. The statement ignored other contentions made by the defense—abuse of discretion by the trial judge; and cruel and unusual punishment forbidden by the 8th Amendment (Bill of Rights), a contention advanced on the ground that no other participant in the alleged conspiracy had received a death sentence, nor had outright traitors such as Axis Sally, Ezra Pound and others.

The dissenting four on the ACLU board included some of its most distinguished members. Two leading ACLU board members had previously taken open positions for clemency on the basis of civil rights violations in the trial. However, to dissent publicly from an ACLU executive board finding is tantamount to resignation from the board and probably for this reason there have been no published dissents thus far.

GUARDIAN readers can—and most certainly should—take the lead in gaining the participation of liberals and of leaders as well as rank and file in Jewish life.

THE red-baiting campaign—joined in last week by the State Dept., in a statement attempting to tie the clemency fight to the Vienna Peace Conference—is one that GUARDIAN readers can themselves answer best; for it was they who brought into existence the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case in response to a proposal for such a committee made in these columns by the editors.

The GUARDIAN's original concern with the case was prompted solely by our own conviction, after full investigation, that a grave and deliberate injustice had been done. No committee or organization, political or otherwise—and

(Continued on Page 2)

A Holiday Wish from the Death House

An excerpt from a letter dated Dec. 9 from Ethel Rosenberg in the Death House at Sing Sing Prison, Ossining, N. Y., to her attorney, Emanuel H. Bloch, 401 Broadway:

"I see by the papers that the holiday season is in full swing, and since 'justice' enjoins me from doing my shopping early, late or otherwise, it will have to be undertaken for me. . . .

"Let me assure you that I have been positively wallowing in advertisements, pencilling here, clipping there, now accepting, now rejecting!

"You see, I am determined to go on living and planning, as though naught awaited me save a husband's fond kiss, a son's noisy welcome. . . . All my love."

ETHEL

WAR & PEACE

Christmas, 1952: Eisenhower faces winter of woe

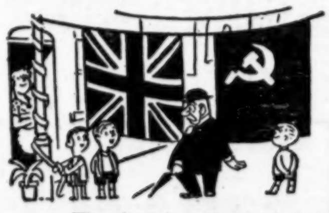
THE world picture confronted by President-elect Eisenhower, as he returned from his trip to Korea, was discouraging in light of his campaign pledges which included one to cut foreign aid.

On the eve of the NATO Council meeting in Paris Dec. 15, an 18-nation OEEC (Organization for European Economic Cooperation) report showed W. European production leveling off, its trade dipping, its dollar-gap rising, its need for U. S. aid to continue rearmament growing (**AP**, 12/12). Hanson Baldwin (N. Y. **Times**, 12/14) saw NATO

> . . . entering upon the winter of its discontent. . . . Unless the European economy is strengthened greatly or unless Europe sacrifices all else to armaments—neither a likely eventuality—it seems unlikely that Europe can maintain the armed forces she is now building up, much less increase them materially.

GERMAN TROUBLES: The U. S. took the wraps off German rearmament, so far unacknowledged pillar of NATO. Although the treaty permitting it has yet to be ratified by six countries (only Britain has ratified), Washington disclosed it has already set aside enough equipment to arm completely the entire W. German force proposed, including air and naval units. It hoped the revelation would "impel the Europeans [who are pressing for an arms slowdown] to a greater sense of urgency" (**NYT** 12/15).

But rearmament was encountering such difficulties in W. Germany—where Chancellor Adenauer was trying to rush ratification before the 1953 elections—that he appealed to Washington for early dispatch of a "strong and active ambassador" to help get the treaty through parliament (**NYT**, 12/14). Adenauer was in hot water because of his extra-legal maneuvering last week to block a Supreme Court ruling on the treaty's constitutionality. If ruled unconstitutional, it would have to be passed by a ⅔ majority—which he does not command.



The Country Standard, London
"We're trying out our street decorations for the Coronation and mum's put up some things she had from V. E. Day."

Business Week (12/6) reported German neutralism rallying around the new All German People's Party, dedicated to unification and a non-militarized Germany. Party leader Hans Bodensteiner told the Paris **Observateur** (11/12) that the "immense majority" of W. Germans want unification and are gradually coming around to accept-

(Continued on Page 7)

Are YOU a 52?

If your mailing label on page 1 says 12-52, 11-52 or any other number ending in 52, your subscription has expired. To be sure of getting your GUARDIAN without interruption in 1953, you must send in your renewal at once.

Nothing to fill in. Just tear off this corner with the label on it, put it in an envelope with $2 for 52 weeks (dollar bills are OK) and mail TODAY to

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
17 Murray Street New York 7, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG
USM

Major and the peasants

PORTLAND, ORE.

Having spent a year in front-line combat units in Korea, I am thoroughly peeved. I see where Maj. John Eisenhower and his starry-eyed "yes men" are asking for his transfer to safety in Japan. And the major is a rear echelon "dud" at that. His assignment is clear back at division headquarters, 20 or 30 miles behind the front lines, where it is relatively safe anyway!

Now there are thousands of GI's in Korea who are somebody's only son, but they don't rate! Many of them were killed and wounded in my old units, and many more will be. They don't rate because they are mere peasants.

Louis J. Whispell

The Borough vote

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Your election analysis in regard to the showing of Reuben Borough in California is faulty. Mr. Borough's extraordinary showing was a protest vote against a vile candidate who captured both the Republican and the Democratic party nominations because of California's unique cross-filing system.

The Democrats advocated a write-in vote to oppose the prejudiced Mr. Knowland. Officially they were for Congressman McKinnon, but many recommended a write-in for former Congresswoman Douglas. This split, plus the party's ineffectual statewide organization, plus the usual lethargy in the matter of a write-in vote, made Reuben Borough the recipient of the protest vote.

Harvey L. Edwards

Wisdom, old and good

NEW YORK, N. Y.

A Spanish poet, M. J. Quintana, who lived during the years 1772-1857, was also a man of firm political convictions. He hated autocracy. He wrote numerous poetical and prose exhortations to the people calling them to rally in stubborn resistance against the French invaders.

And for his activities in behalf of freedom and justice he was thrown into jail for three years. In one of his compositions these lines occur: "A sad and necessary condition of usurpers is to be forced at every step to commit fresh crimes to sustain the first one."

How crazy can you get dept.

Revlon
FACE POWDER
"DARK DARK"
(formerly 'RUSSIAN SABLE')
REVLON PRODUCTS CORP. NEW YORK

This is a reproduction of a Revlon box top.

This description is admirably suited today to our groups of reactionaries.

A. Garcia Diaz

Short by 90,900

PEKING, CHINA

This is to notify you of an erratum concerning the article "Taming the Yangtze," which we sent you on Nov. 20. The sentence ". . . over one hundred peasants from the area" [working on the river control project] on page 3, third paragraph, is a typing error. It should read ". . . over one hundred thousand peasants."

Thank you and best wishes.

China Information Bureau

The Peace Rose

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

The New Orleans Rose Society (amateurs) held its annual rose show Nov. 9, featuring a "Peace Rose." It's a huge bloom, 3½" to 4" across, light yellow, with deep pink edges to the petals. I suppose they are sold at all the plant companies.

Rose growers over the country send in reports, on the strength of plants, blooming frequency, quality, etc. A perfect rose rates 10, but the U. S. has no such rose now. The Peace Rose rates 9.4, which gives it second place. The Peace Rose should surely make a good feature for prizes to peace workers, etc.

Elizabeth Cousins Rogers

Dollars for peace

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

I have just finished reading Carl Marzani's excellent *We Can Be Friends*. In my opinion the material in this documented volume should be brought to the attention of everyone who in any degree at all formulates or carries out our foreign policy. I also feel that every delegate to the UN should have this material made available to them.

Therefore I am enclosing a check for $10 for which I am asking you to send copies of the paper bound edition to President-elect Eisenhower, Vice-President-elect Nixon, John Foster Dulles and other members of the Cabinet.

I hope this launches a campaign for dollars for peace so that the Marzani book can be put into the hands of every congressman, senator, newspaper editor and news columnist.

Henry Blankfort

Alien in our midst

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Santa Klaus
Is an alien
A Pole-lander
Perhaps Latvian
Between Season Greetings
When he's here
Where in the World
Does he disappear
Does the F. B. I.
Know for certain
He doesn't spend Summers
Behind the Iron Curtain
His political views
He's never asked to give
How do we know
He isn't subversive
His suit is red
From head to toes
His ears are pink
And so's his nose
His PEACE ON EARTH
GOOD WILL TO MEN
Sounds like propaganda
From the Red Kremlin.
Some chimneys he climbs
Up and down
Must have secrets
Lying around
And think of children
He can reach
Who take for Gospel
Whatever he teach
The Unamericans
Should take a hand
Subpena him
The moment he'll land
And if a Red quiz
He cannot pass
We'll report SANTA KLAUS
And abolish Christmas

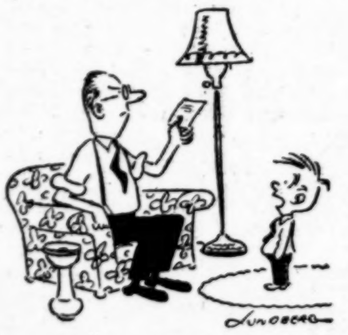
Lawrence Gellert

Gas, paint and food

SAN BERNARDINO, CALIF.

Enclosed $3. . . . I have very little to spare and expect less after paying Gen. Eisenhower's gas bill to Korea and McCarthy's costs for a fancy FBI merry-go-round which we are supposed to watch smear red paint, instead of eating.

Evelyn Oelen



Wall Street Journal

"So you had better marks! Where did it getcha?"

History of PP—1948

EVANSTON, ILL.

I am writing the history of the Progressive Party campaign of 1948 and am seeking the aid of GUARDIAN readers in the form of letters, written records and other material and suggestions. I am interested in details of party origins, organization and operations at all levels; in campaigns for local as well as national candidates; in anecdotes regarding leaders and workers; in stories of intimidation, pressure and violence.

Dr. Curtis D. McDougall
537 Judson Av., Evanston, Ill.

Dr. McDougall, Northwestern U. journalism professor, was PP candidate for the Senate from Illinois in 1948 and was Illinois state chairman in 1949 and 1950. His most recent book is *Understanding Public Opinion* (Macmillan). Ed.

What Richmond swore

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

In your issue of Nov. 13 you reported that "Al Richmond, an editor of the Daily People's World, recently convicted under the Smith Act but free on bail pending appeal, was hit with a new charge that he swore falsely when denying Communist affiliations when he was naturalized."

You were inadvertently misled by press reports. At my naturalization I was not asked about any Communist affiliations, and hence had no occasion either to deny or confirm them.

I did, in good faith and conscience, swear:

"I am not, and have not been for the period of at least 10 years preceding the date of this petition . . . a believer in the unlawful damage, injury or destruction of property, or sabotage; nor a disbeliever in organized government; nor a member of or affiliated with any organization or body of persons teaching disbelief in or opposition to organized government. I am attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States. . . ."

The Justice Department now contends that by virtue of membership in the Communist Party and/or the Young Communist League during the preceding 10 years, I could not have taken that oath in good faith. On the basis of this contention it seeks to revoke my citizenship, tossing in for good measure the charges that by virtue of my affiliations I was a believer in, and advocate of, assassination, sabotage, destruction of property, along with the shopworn charge that I advocate violent overthrow of the government.

Al Richmond

"The Contemporary Reader"

NEW YORK, N. Y.

A new literary quarterly, The Contemporary Reader, will be published in January by the Writing and Publishing Division, N. Y. Council Arts, Sciences and Professions.

We are anxious to receive short stories, poetry and plays by new and experienced writers. Literary support of the world struggle for peace and civil liberties is one of the major purposes of our new magazine. Our pledge is to fight censorship and "thought-control." We will encourage writing of all national groups—and try to develop new Negro writers. We are also anxious to receive material from trade unionists.

The Contemporary Reader is interested in writing which presents in honest terms the every-day life of the American people, avoiding the "escapism and romanticism" of the commercial magazines as well as the affectation of the "little" magazines.

Manuscripts should be sent to The Contemporary Reader, 49 W. 44th St., N. Y. 36. All manuscripts will be acknowledged.

Subscriptions are available at $2.50 per year, 75c per issue.

Edwin Berry Burgum

A wide place

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The writer has not agreed with everything stated in the GUARDIAN nor condoned every approach to the many problems faced. Nevertheless, in perspective, the GUARDIAN leaves the impression that it en[illegible]tertains a high sense of the righ[illegible] of the individual and a zeal fo[illegible] justice toward all mankind. It would seem that there is presently a wide place in history for such ideals to be made more vividly manifest.

C. D. Day I

For Wm. E. Dodd Jr.

This to announce a contribution of $500 to the NATIONAL GUARDIAN in memory of William E. Dodd Jr., whose courage and convictions never weakened.

Martha Dodd
Alfred K. Stern

The Crucifixion

FIND OUT and tell me where the poets hide
who warble still of Christ upon a cross—
the painters, too, who still show Barabbas,
that murderer, triumphantly untied.

Find out and tell me, that I may be led
to where they dream in comfort and in peace:
raging against a tyrant whose police
two thousand years ago were safely dead.

Awaken and arise! I'll cry to them;
your sleep was long — Caesar no more is King.
A hundred Christs the judges now condemn.
A hundred crosses to the hill they bring.
No more the city is Jerusalem;
come see! the grave is dug at Ossining.

—Aaron Kramer

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Vol. 5, No. 9 178 DECEMBER 18, 1952

URGENT TO ALL READERS

What must be done to save the Rosenbergs

(Continued from Page 1)

no other publication—had started a fight for real justice in the case. Hence we started the fight.

The abstention of liberals from the Rosenberg Case—perhaps the most palpable political frame-up ever to get by the courts in our nation's history—falls into the dangerous pattern of withholding or withdrawing cooperation from any cause supported by the Left.

This is literally a suicidal stand where the Rosenberg Case is involved, since every liberal condoning conviction by hysteria, without genuine evidence or proof of guilt, in effect puts his own neck in the noose. Furthermore, the Left will always be found in every fight for justice; hence the liberal who abstains because of Left participation is in effect quitting the fight forever.

THE Editors of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, after consultation with the Rosenberg legal defense and the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, most strongly urge you to present these views to your friends and associates who have not joined in the fight thus far. Furthermore we urge the following immediate actions:

(1) WRITE OR WIRE THE PRESIDENT AT THE WHITE HOUSE IN WASHINGTON TO GRANT EXECUTIVE CLEMENCY.

(2) WRITE OR WIRE FEDERAL JUDGE IRVING R. KAUFMAN, FEDERAL BUILDING, FOLEY SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY, TO GRANT JUDICIAL CLEMENCY.

Both actions are most urgent. Judge Kaufman will receive a request for judicial clemency within 10 days. He has the right to alter his sentence of death, and may do so if he is convinced of a broad public desire for such an action.

If judicial clemency is not forthcoming, a Presidential commutation of sentence is the final resort after all attempts at legal remedies have been exhausted. The White House mail has been tremendous for excutive clemency but has thus far received no public acknowledgement from the President. The weight and breadth of the appeal must determine his answer.

We respectfully urge your immediate and fullest cooperation on what we deem to be the most significant issue of justice before the American people today. **THE EDITORS**

WHAT THE U. S. PRESS LEFT OUT

The facts on the Prague treason trials

By James Aronson

IN the State Court in Prague, Nov. 20 to 27, a trial took place which has produced more headlines, speculation and troubled questions in the West than any political trial in a socialist country since the Moscow trials of 1937. The defendants were 14 former high functionaries of Czechoslovakia's government and its Communist Party. All pleaded guilty to one or more charges of espionage, high treason, sabotage and betraying military secrets. All were found guilty: 11 were sentenced to death and hanged; three were sent to prison for life.

The trial was reported here entirely through U. S. correspondents in Vienna. The GUARDIAN's George Wheeler is the only American reporter now in Prague. The last two were the **AP's** William Oatis, sentenced in July, 1951, to 10 years in prison after he confessed to espionage for the U. S. government; and Dana Adams Schmidt of the N. Y. **Times**, who left Czechoslovakia amid reports that similar charges were to be leveled against him.

THE PRESS: Although the proceedings were broadcast in full (and receivable in Vienna) the reports of the trial itself in the U. S. press were thin; they were more opinion than facts. They declared the trial was "anti-Semitic"; rigged to find scapegoats for Czechoslovakia's "economic ills"; a "Soviet device to smear the West" (N. Y. **Times** 11/22); a "Kremlin [attempt] to woo the Arab states" (N. Y. **Herald Tribune** 11/27). The one possibility not even considered was that the defendants confessed because the evidence with which they were confronted (in the long pre-trial hearings which are standard legal procedure in most European countries) was conclusive and undeniable. Editorial writers had yet to come up with a rational explanation of why the defendants would all publicly confess to crimes of which they were innocent.

In summing up, the prosecutor said:

> **"The defendants confessed because they were convicted by written documents, by the opinion of experts and the testimony of witnesses. They confessed what they were forced to confess; otherwise they would have appeared as ridiculous figures before this court."**

In this and subsequent stories, using available reports from Prague, Vienna, London, Tel Aviv and sources in the U. S., the GUARDIAN will seek to present the trial and its repercussions against a background of actual events and documented information.

The testimony

The chief defendant was Rudolf Slansky, former secy.-gen. of the Czech CP. He confessed to organizing an "anti-state conspiracy" aimed at restoring capitalism, "removing" President Gottwald and setting up Slansky as a "Czech Tito."

Slansky said he was responsible for the death of Jan Sverma (whose widow testified for the state), hero of the Slovak uprising in 1944; he had left Sverma to die in a blizzard during a flight. The prosecutor presented photostats and documents to support the accusations. Among them was one asserting that U. S. Intelligence had planned to help Slansky escape from Czechoslovakia. Another document, from the files of the pre-Munich Czech police, contained information Slansky was said to have given about Communist student organizations.

In the testimony of other defendants came these confessions:

BEDRICH GEMINDER, former head of the Czech CP's intl. dept.: He transmitted to Konni Zilliacus (former left-wing Labour MP, frequent visitor to Tito) in London information that Slansky passed to him through deputy Foreign Minister Arthur London, another defendant. He blocked the firing of "reactionaries" from the Foreign Ministry, pushed for a "Tito Clique" there.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES ALLEN W. DULLES

The name is familiar, both at home and abroad

VLADIMIR CLEMENTIS, former Foreign Minister: He became an agent of French Intelligence in 1938, worked as a spy also for U. S. Ambassador Steinhardt and British Ambassador Nichols; organized a spy network in Hungary and gave reports to U. S. Intelligence.

ANDRE SIMONE, former editor of CP organ **Rude Pravo**: He worked for three Western intelligence services since 1946 when he returned to Czechoslovakia from the West. Among his contacts: Alexander Werth, European correspondent of the London **New Statesman & Nation** and other publications; Maurice Hindus, American journalist.

BEDRICH REICIN, former deputy Minister of Defense: He covered up the conspiracy against Gottwald. Arrested by the Gestapo in 1938, he became an informer, gave them the lead to Julius Fucik, Czech journalist and national hero murdered by the Germans. In 1946 he disclosed to a Yugoslav contact, Col. Ivanovich, the secret hiding place of the records of Karl Frank, Nazi ruler of Bohemia-Moravia, which were seized immediately thereafter by U. S. troops in a raid across the border from Germany. (These records, believed to contain the names of all Czech informers and Czech leftists, may have been used by the U. S. and British to blackmail persons in the Czech government. Prague officially protested the raid at the time. The N.Y. **Times**, 11/26, confirmed the U. S. raid incident.)

"Anti-Semitism"

Eleven of the 14 defendants were of Jewish origin. Several were accused of and confessed to espionage for Zionist organizations and for the Israeli government. Anti-Semitism is a crime, punished with severe sentences, in Czechoslovakia and all other Eastern European socialist countries. Many persons of Jewish origin (Premier Matyas Rakosi of Hungary, for example) are high in the governments of these nations; at least eight have top-level jobs in the Czech government.

"OF JEWISH ORIGIN": The phrase "of Jewish origin" occurred often in the proceedings. GUARDIAN's George Wheeler reported from Prague:

> **. . . It was mainly brought in by the defendants—and it may be deliberately. What references were made by the government seem to Americans here (some are Jewish) to be without any trace of anti-Semitism. Rude Pravo in an editorial on Nov. 23 warned of the dangers of drawing anti-Semitic conclusions from the trial and said that such views had no place in Czechoslovakia.**

Dr. Gustav Sichl, chief rabbi of Prague, declared in an interview Nov. 29:

> **"I want to make it clear that there is no such thing as oppression of the Jewish religion in Czechoslovakia. . . . Criminals can be of Jewish origin as well as non-Jews. . . . There is absolutely no question of the government instituting a trial like this for the purpose of [encouraging anti-Semitism]."**

Before the Nazi occupation there were 257,000 Jews in Czechoslovakia; today there are 30,000. Many emigrated in 1938; thousands more were murdered by the Nazis. Other E. European nations have far more Jewish residents (Rumania has 250,000). If the purpose of the trial was a demonstration of anti-Semitism, its locale puzzled even the N. Y. **Times**, which was among the most vocal in making the charge. To its Washington correspondent James Reston (11/27),

> **. . . one of the surprising things . . . was that the Kremlin chose to make this demonstration where there are fewer Jews than in any other Eastern European country but Bulgaria.**

"Anti-Zionism"

The Czech government gave the new state of Israel military supplies which may have turned the tide of victory in the Arab war. Israeli officials have several times acknowledged this. The U. S. S. R. was the first nation in UN to recognize Israel, championed its cause in the debate on Palestine. But communism has always opposed the philosophy of Zionism.

The U. S. press coverage of the trial made it appear that this opposition was something new. The N. Y. **Herald Tribune** said (11/27) of the trial:

> **Another possibility is that the Kremlin has decided to woo the Arab states actively and to stir up further trouble in the disturbed Middle East by identifying itself with Arab nationalism and renouncing its pro-Israeli past.**

Actually the U. S. S. R. and its allies in UN have from the outset supported the fight of the colonial and semi-colonial Arab and Asian nations for self-determination—just as they supported Israel. Of this purported change in policy, **Israel Speaks**, a New York bi-monthly (pro-Israel govt.) said:

> **There is little direct evidence that the trial is intended to mark a shift in the Soviet bloc's policy with regard to the Middle East or to persuade the Arabs that their real friends are the Cominform countries.**

OREN'S TESTIMONY: References at the trial to Zionism were made in connection with charges that the defendants had spied for Zionist organizations which the prosecutor called "agencies of American imperialism."

Wheeler reported on the testimony of Mordecai Oren, an Israeli citizen arrested some months ago in Prague on an illegal money transaction:

> **Oren testified that one of the conditions attached to U. S. assistance to Israel was that the Israeli embassies and Jewish organizations should use their connections to do a job for U. S. Intelligence. . . . The closing remarks of the prosecutor did not emphasize Zionism. He put in order of gravity the defendants' common bond, Trotskyism, then bourgeois nationalism, then Zionism.**

The emphasis on Arab-wooing (the **Times** and **HT** used identical phrases) would indicate rather that the press was seeking to link the Arab independence movement in the American mind with the "Kremlin menace."

"Economic ills"

Of the trial's being a "smokescreen" to hide a sick economy, Wheeler wrote:

> **What is causing much comment in Prague is that although the defendants were in key positions they were not able to stop the country's advance. In 1951 the Five Year Plan targets were raised—48% in the case of heavy machine industry—to such an extent that in the West it would have been considered a tremendous success if France, for example, had been about to do the same thing.**
>
> **Another remarkable thing is that although the defendants managed to get into top jobs, they were caught. They did enormous harm, but socialism continued to work, and even well. The honest workers saw through incompetent managers and kicked them out; leaders like Gottwald and Premier Zapotocky acted quickly to spike bad policies.**

Industrial production in 1952 in Czechoslovakia was 21% above 1951, Wheeler said.

"Smearing the West"

Throughout the trial there were references to U. S. Intelligence activity. Linked to defendants were John Foster Dulles (he acted as counsel for the wealthy Petschek family—now abroad—which sought to recover its vast industrial holdings) and Allen W. Dulles, wartime European chief of the Office of Strategic Services, now deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

THE OATIS CASE: Scrutiny of the record of the Oatis trial (1951) disclosed that Oatis admitted espionage contacts with Clementis and Otto Sling, former CP district leader in Brno—another defendant in the November trial. Oatis testified he concentrated on the Sling-Clementis group after the arrest of its leaders because (in his own words)

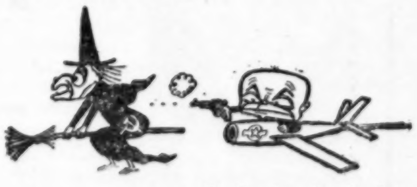
> **. . . such espionage information was very important for our espionage service, mainly because, on the basis of ascertained facts, it showed to what extent the network in Czechoslovakia had been exposed and what measures had to be taken to safeguard those positions which had not yet been found out.**

In February, 1952, the Czech government protested officially to Washington over the Mutual Security Act (passed Oct. 10, 1951). A provision of the act earmarked $100,000,000 for persons who live in or who have escaped from the socialist countries of Eastern Europe

> **. . . either to form such persons into elements of the military force supporting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or for other purposes.**

IKE AND PROJECT X: This, said the note, was a refined way of saying the money was for treason and terror. It listed the cases of 25 persons who confessed exactly how, when and where they were trained by American agents and sent into Czechoslovakia. The note said all had come from the U. S. zone of Germany where they were equipped with weapons, forged documents, and cash. They were described as being mostly "ex-convicts sentenced for embezzlement, fraud, black-marketeering and rape." Many were former Nazis.

The note also spoke of CIA's now-notorious Project X (1948) providing for "effective assistance to anti-communist underground forces in the countries of Europe."



De Groene, Amsterdam

(In a speech to the American Legion Aug. 25 in New York, Gen. Eisenhower said: "The American conscience can never know peace until these people [in the Eastern European countries] are restored again to being masters of their own fate.")

The reaction

How do the Czech people feel about the trial? Wheeler reported:

> **Even the most conservative people I have spoken to are convinced by the overwhelming evidence. Most people feel that the air is cleared, and while there is no illusion about the toughness of the work ahead, they feel that tremendous obstacles have been removed. For many the words of Andre Simone on the witness stand still echoed:**
>
> **"I am a writer. A fine formulation about writers says that they are engineers of the soul. What sort of an engineer of the soul was I when I poisoned souls? The one good service which I can still perform is to be a warning to all those who are threatened by the danger that they will take the same hellish road that I did."**

Rosenberg clemency campaign is growing

(Continued from Page 1)

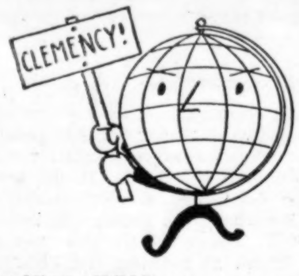
> public anxiety and to give assurance that those charged with the protection of vital information were alert and diligent in the performance of their obligations."

THERE'S NO DISPUTE: The government's admission that one of its important witnesses lied on the stand was minimized by the judge. The prosecution, in an affidavit, confirmed a defense charge that its "surprise" witness, produced on the last day of the trial to identify the Rosenbergs as a couple who had come to him for passport photos a few months earlier, had been taken secretly—and illegally—to court to look at the Rosenbergs the day before he took the stand. From the witness chair he swore he had not seen the Rosenbergs since he had taken their photos.

Judge Ryan conceded that the defense charge "is not disputed" but found there "was no motive of falsehood" and the lie "does not stamp the witness with perjury." The judge similarly dismissed impressive scientific testimony that the alleged atom-bomb secret had long been public knowledge.

DEATH HOUSE DIARY: Last month in his cell in Sing Sing's death house, Julius Rosenberg began a diary; after each day's entry he notes the number of days of life left to him and his wife. Throughout the document he maintains their absolute innocence, writes of the prosecution:

> They wanted me to confess to crimes I did not do, to bear false witness against innocent people and to allow myself to be used as a tool to create anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda to add to the hysteria and the cold war. . . The only documentary evidence produced by the government to tie us up with this case was a tin collection can: "Save a Spanish Republican Child." . . .



> This can was supposed to be used to collect funds to aid the innocent victims of . . . Franco. We admit we are ardent anti-fascists. Not only did we donate money to help refugees but we collected funds and signed petitions to aid the Republican cause.
>
> I remember when the rebellion broke out in Spain, and my wife and I decided to help the Loyalists. Ethel had studied voice. She is a coloratura soprano and she sings beautifully. I had studied Spanish in college and I taught her the words to two songs: "Tango de las Rosas" and "Ay-ay-ay." Then, together with a few of our friends, we went to Times Square on Saturday night. Ethel sang these two Spanish songs and "No Pasaran," and the rest of us held the corners of a Spanish Republican flag. The people contributed generously, coins and dollar bills. The public was overwhelmingly in favor of the Republican Spanish cause. . . . For this we are condemned, with 42 days more left to live.

The remaining days to live were already under 30; but the fight for clemency was growing each day here and abroad. Preparations went ahead for a prayer vigil in Washington, D. C., on Jan. 4 even though permission to use the National Guard Armory, the capital's largest hall, was rescinded last week with no reason given. These were some of the new organizations and individuals joining the movement for clemency:

CHICAGO: The Student Government of the University of Chicago voted 19 to 16 to authorize letters and appeals to the President urging clemency. A meeting sponsored by the University of Chicago Committee on the Rosenberg Case heard Prof. Malcolm Sharp of the Law School:

> If [the death sentence] is likely to do altogether disproportionate harm to our old conservative doctrines of liberty and free association, and make international settlement more difficult. . . .
>
> The only intelligible theory on which this sentence could be based is one of deterrence. But the judge gave no attention to this and reverted to a primitive revenge theory. . . .
>
> The sentence was never reviewed. It rests on the judgment of one judge, who revealed great emotional tension and confusion of mind, and it is uniquely severe in peace time. . . . It will increase the tendency to attack anyone with political beliefs that are unpopular, and increase red-baiting and fear. These are very deplorable, and not counter-balanced by the spy peril.

The Southside Committee for Clemency made public an open letter to Mr. Truman signed by more than 80 prominent citizens of the community, including many University of Chicago educators.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: The Baptist Ministers Conference of Washington and Vicinity, in a letter signed by Rev. Edward Thomas, president, and Rev. E. C. Smith, chairman of the civic committee, wrote the President that the organization

> . . . most humbly petitions you to temper justice with mercy in the case of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Since no one has ever paid with life for the crime of which they stand guilty, it is our prayer that these two be spared the supreme penalty.

NEWARK, N. J.: Four Essex County clergymen, including Rev. Dr. Arthur J. Dumper, dean of Trinity Cathedral, Newark, petitioned the President for clemency.

PABLO PICASSO
They remember Dreyfus

OAKLAND, CALIF.: The executive board of the East Bay Division of Local 6, Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, adopted a resolution asking the President for clemency, and voted:

> - To send a delegation to the Oakland Tribune protesting its refusal to accept a paid advertisement listing the signatures of hundreds of petitioners for clemency;
> - To ask all shop stewards to circulate clemency petitions;
> - To allow a speaker on the Rosenberg Case to appear before the next East Bay membership meeting.

TRADE UNIONS: Joseph P. Selly, intl. pres., American Communications Assn., in a letter to the President said that clemency

> . . . would be greeted throughout the world by the Jewish people and by all people who will see in that generous act a sign of humanity and decency.

Other N. Y. unions that took action included the CIO United Shoe Workers Local 65; AFL Jewelry Workers Local 1; N. Y. Board of the Marine Cooks & Stewards; CIO Furniture Workers Local 140; and AFL Painters Local 704.

In Detroit the 218-member General Council of Ford Local 600 (57,000 members) of the United Auto Workers, CIO, adopted a resolution urging clemency.

CANADA & ENGLAND: From Canada came a petition signed by 15 Canadian war veterans, all with active service records in World War II.

From London came this letter from the Natl. Rosenberg Defense Committee adressed to Julius Rosenberg:

> We are sending you our best wishes and greeting in this, your time of suffering. We are gathered at the Holborn Hall in London to protest against vicious witch-hunt, whose victims you are. The assembled 300 citizens of London will send their protest to the American Embassy tonight and demand a retrial of your case. We shall continue to fight for the retrial, for we know that your innocence con be proved.

FRANCE: In France the Rosenberg campaign took on proportions reminiscent of the great public outcry against the Dreyfus frame-up. The French Comm. for the Defense of the Rosenbergs includes Louis Aragon, leading poet; Fernand Leger, muralist who decorated UN headquarters in New York; author Jean-Paul Sartre; screen actress Francoise Rosay; and Prof. Weill-Halle, member of the Academy of Medicine.

The committee was organized by the Movement Against Racism, Anti-Semitism and For Peace, whose honorary president is artist Marc Chagall. Other leading members include Gabriel D'Arbousier, vice-president of the French Assembly; Albert Bayet, president of the College of France; Aime Cesaire, Deputy; Yves Farges; Grand Rabbi Kaplan; and Alain Le Leap, secy.-gen. of the General Confederation of Trade Unions.

The official paper of the organization, **Droit et Liberte** (Right and Liberty), in its latest issue devoted almost three of its six pages to the Rosenberg case. It reported a capacity crowd of "several thousand" at a Rosenberg meeting in the Salle de la Mutualite Dec. 8. Pablo Picasso presided. Speakers included some of the top names in French public and professional life.

ITALY: Three winners of Italy's top literary award, the Primio Viareggio—Carlo Bernari, Marcello Venturoli and Renata Vigano—protested to Mr. Truman and to U. S. officials in Italy. Other prominent Italians joining the clemency movement include Luciano Emmer, film director just returned from the U. S.; Pietro Calamandrey, noted lawyer, Parliamentary Deputy and editor of the monthly **Il Yonte**: Prof. Luigi Russo, noted critic and editor of the cultural **Belfagor**; and Corrado Cagli, artist, who lived in the U. S. many years and served in the U. S. Army.

For Ethel Rosenberg

"The cobblestones roused my interest for their variety of colors: red, blue, green and grey. Especially during the endless winter months, when one longs for a little bit of lively green, my color-thirsty eyes feasted on the brightness of these stones and drank their stimulation from them. More so now that summer's come: what wonders and excitement one can find between these stones. . . ."

Rosa Luxembourg: "Letters from Prison"

W. E. B. DuBois

In defense of beasts

THE eruption of the epithet "goose" in the British parliament warns us of a possible movement bound sooner or later to take place. I am sure the geese, jackasses, rats, sheep, donkeys, mules, snakes, goats and elephants will sooner or later protest vigorously against the misuse of their names and misreading of their characters by human beings. I have a feeling that the friends of Mr. Shinwell ought certainly to be required to apologize, but not to Mr. Churchill; rather to all geese!

In my personal experience which extends back to early association with geese as a student in Germany, I have always found them exceedingly well-bred, dignified and much more consistent in their outlook upon the world than Mr. Churchill. I myself have been guilty of calling people "rats." I am afraid that that also is unfair to the average rat who, so far as I have known the breed, is not at all deceitful, but on the contrary rather frank, and prone to bite only when pushed into a corner.

THEN there is this matter of donkeys, mules and jackasses; terms used currently in a very derogatory way, implying ignorance and stubbornness. As applied to Congressmen and as a symbol for a current political party, they are grossly unfair. The donkey is, to be sure, democratic, but not Dixiecratic. The mule is more appropriate. Most of these animals, whom I have met, are placid and polite, having manners far better than the average American. They may not be classed as bright, but how many of us are today?

Elephants have a right to resent being used as examples of overweight or symbols of a political party which recently bought the Presidency at the highest price ever paid. For their own purposes elephants are of quite handy size; and fancy comparing these frugal beasts, satisfied with peanuts, with a party so in debt that the Chase National Bank is already foreclosing!

Snakes I would particularly defend. They are not sneaking, poisonous and hateful as men contend, but lively, silken and shy, and rarely carry poison; and then only in self-defense from cruel, clumsy Heels. Sheep have most deeply been maligned. Their skins formerly were universally used as evidence of high intellectual training. Lately, learning being cheaper, universities have for purely economic reasons substituted paper, but sheep had no hand in this and probably resented it. At any rate, instead of representing stupidity I would say that most sheep are conservative or perhaps even reactionary because of current subversive trends.

MUCH more could be said in this line, but what I am emphasizing just now is that a movement of these beasts, perhaps in a convention, could put up a pretty good defense against being continually maligned and caricatured by the general run of human beings; and could initiate a strong attack upon writers, members of Congress, legislators, and judges in particular.

I shall certainly attend such a convention when it is held, and put in a word of support even at the risk of being jailed for contempt of most of our current courts. After all, this habit of wholesale attack of human beings on beasts, birds and insects has got to stop. We may I suppose, if we wish, ruin our own rights, dignities and freedoms; but let us leave something decent in the world when we leave it after the Third World War.

OBITUARY

Robert Minor

ROBERT MINOR, artist, newspaperman, "winner of lost causes" in half a century of people's battles, died in New York Nov. 24 as the result of an ailing heart at the age of 68.

Texas-born Bob Minor had been one of the nation's best-known and highest-paid political cartoonists (San Antonio **Gazette**, St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**, N. Y. **World**). He foresook this career to become a people's journalist-artist—but did more than record the battles he saw; in many cases he led them. He suffered jail terms and beatings on picket-lines; once a court-martial sentenced him to death—for denouncing the intervention against the Russian revolution while serving as war correspondent. Among the many causes for which he fought were freedom for Tom Mooney and for the Scottsboro Boys, the rights of labor and the unemployed, and the Spanish Republic.

He was a founder of the U. S. Communist Party and when he died was helping the defense of its leaders on trial under the Smith Act. More than 1,000 gathered for funeral services Dec. 1 in New York's St. Nicholas Arena.

BEHIND THE SMILING FRONT OF ANGLO-U.S. "ECONOMIC COOPERATION"

The battle for the shrinking market

By Tabitha Petran

"TO maintain, strengthen and stabilize the Western Alliance:" that must be the new administration's chief aim and theme, says Joseph Alsop (**N. Y. Herald Tribune, 12/3**). Strengthening this alliance was the ostensible purpose of last week's Commonwealth Conference in London. It hoped to lay foundations for "a revolution" in "free world trade," which would eventually

> . . . restore equilibrium between the world's two key currencies, the dollar and the pound (N. Y. Times, 11/27).

Yet in fact, Britain's struggle to overcome the sterling area's chronic dollar deficit is the key expression of an Anglo-U.S. war to redivide the shrinking capitalist world, waged behind "economic cooperation" slogans since 1945 when:

- The U.S., with 60% and 75% of the capitalist world's productive and investment capacity, launched a drive for export markets for its goods and capital—aimed primarily at the British Empire.
- Britain, which had sold one-quarter of its investments—mainly in the dollar area—but held intact its rich Empire investments, rejected a socialist-planned development of trade (with the East, liberated colonies, etc.), choosing to maintain overseas commitments and compete with the U.S. for old and new markets. To do this with solvency, Britain had to raise exports 175% above the pre-war level.

THE DOLLAR-POUND WAR: Key battles in the war between the dollar and the pound were:

1946: U.S. $3.7 billion loan to Britain. British economist G. D. H. Cole indicated its purpose:

> . . . Rejection of the loan would have forced us at once to restrict our military and imperial commitments and come to terms with the Soviet Union.

Its terms forced Britain to halt commercial operations unfavorable to the U.S. and restore the pound's "convertibility"—to let any country that sold to Britain demand payment in dollars—within one year. (Convertibility would enable U.S. investors in the Empire to take profits out in dollars.) Britain's attempt to make the pound convertible in July 1947 ended in near disaster, eating into the loan (already shrunk by soaring U.S. prices), into gold and dollar reserves; it was abandoned in August. But it precipitated a payments crisis, forcing Britain to give up its costly military establishment in Greece, and paving the way for:

1947: The Truman Doctrine, by which the U.S. moved into Greece and the British Middle East oil preserve, and

1948: The Marshall Plan, which restricted East-West trade; opened Britain to U.S. export dumping, and the colonies to U.S. penetration by requiring aid recipients to supply raw materials to the U.S. stockpile; began the rebuilding of W. Germany, soon to become a powerful competitor of Britain; forced rearmament and led to NATO. London's **Economist** (9/48) prophesied rearmament would give Britain "economic apoplexy." Since British industry could not produce both arms and export goods, rearmament undermined the export drive—to U.S., W. German and Japanese advantage.

1949: Devaluation. The 50% rise in British import prices 1945-1949—due mainly to U.S. scrapping of price controls—and the sharp drop in U.S. purchases of sterling-area goods during the 1949 recession forced London to bow to Washington pressure to devalue the pound ($4.03 to $2.80). Devaluation upped British import prices (hence the cost of living and of manufacture); lowered prices of U.S. imports of sterling-area raw materials; reduced the dollar equivalent of wages, hence increased U.S. investors' profit rate in the sterling area.

1950: U.S.-sponsored European Payments Union, based on W. Germany, created a new European dollar area. Designed to subject sterling to an indirect form of convertibility, EPU drained British dollar and gold reserves.

1950-51: Intensification of raw-material price war after Korea. U.S. manipulation of stockpile buying first deprived Britain of essential raw materials; then an abrupt halt in buying (spring, 1951) sent prices of sterling-area tin, rubber, wool crashing, led directly to Britain's third and worst post-war payments crisis.

1949-1952: Point 4, announced by Truman, Jan., 1949; clarified by Winthrop Aldrich, brother-in-law of John D. Rockefeller Jr. and board chairman of the Rockefeller Chase Natl. Bank, in London May 24, 1949, when he bluntly stated U.S. terms for sterling-area investment: devaluation, guarantee of dollar profits and against loss from exchange restrictions, nationalization, etc., "political and economic stability."

The Gray and Nelson Rockefeller reports (1951) showed Point 4's chief target was the British Empire. U.S. refusal (Feb., 1951) to put up dollars for Britain's Colombo colonial-development plan made it clearer. In July, 1951, Washington forced London to let it deal directly with British overseas territories regarding Point 4 aid.

The dragon & the maidens

In its 7-year war with the dollar, British imperialism has tried to maintain its fading place in the sun by:

- Savage reduction in home living standards—one way of making international payments balance. One measure of the reduction: exports are 76% above pre-war; imports, only 26%.
- Heavier exploitation of the colonies. Malaya's tin and rubber earned more dollars for Britain since the war than all British industries combined. The rate of profit in British overseas investment is higher than pre-war, while overseas military expenditures (paid by taxpayers) to maintain these investments totalled almost half the profits from them since 1945.
- Heavy borrowing from the U.S., Canada, U.S.-controlled institutions like the World Bank, to halt the tide of investment liquidations—putting Britain even further in hock economically and politically to the $.

These measures, plus exchange and trade controls, have enabled British imperialism to hang on, but figures show its inner weakness:

1838: World owed every Briton 80 pounds.
1945: Every Briton owed world 20 pounds.
1952: Every Briton owes world 100 pounds.

AGGRESSIVE ALDRICH: The Commonwealth Conference opens a new phase in the Anglo-U.S. war. For Britain, the Commonwealth must be united

> . . . unless the dollar dragon is to gobble up the Imperial maidens one by one (Statist, 9/27).

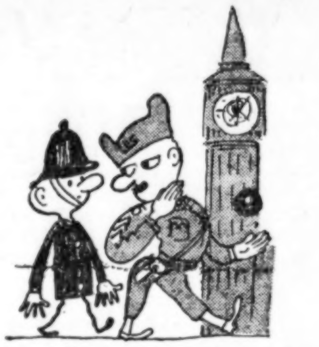
But it is not united; some of the maidens are already seduced. Naming of Aldrich—a top-rank general of the Rockefellers, leaders of the drive against the British Empire—as Ambassador to London signaled a heavier U.S. attack. Aldrich told the Natl. Foreign Trade Council in N.Y. (11/19) that "an appropriate environment for convertibility" can soon be established, demanded a more "aggressive" economic policy.

THE POUND OF FLESH: The renewed U.S. attack is dictated by the fact that although U.S. corporations have almost doubled their investments abroad since 1946, from $8 to $15 billion (**Survey of Current Business, 8/52**), the capital-export rate has been nowhere near enough to meet U.S. capitalism's needs. U.S. corporations' $200 billions in profits since 1946 ($110 billion after taxes) point to an unprecedented accumulation of capital, hence pressure to export. But annual capital export has been less—in absolute terms, as well as relative to total investment—than in the 1920's.

The Rockefeller Report recommended a doubling of annual U.S. investment abroad to $2 or $2.5 billion. The President's Intl. Development Board suggested $4 billion. The Paley Report on Raw Materials blueprinted terms for U.S. investment in (down to labor codes, tax laws, transport facilities, etc.), and monopoly control of, "free world" raw materials.

'Complete breakdown' seen

Increased U.S. pressure to export capital coincides with the drying-up of capital exports from Britain which have been "the lynch pin that holds the sterling area together" (**London Banker, 6/52**), while Commonwealth countries feel growing need for capital investment in their development plans. Hence, at the London Conference, the latter presented plans to "strengthen" sterling scarcely distinguishable from U.S. blueprints for taking over the British Empire: gradual convertibility, removal of exchange and trade controls, development of raw material output by U.S. investment, international agreements stabilizing commodity prices.



Dyad in Daily Worker, London

"Stop following me around or I'll have you arrested."

Convertibility, even if backed by a dollar fund, would sooner or later mean

> . . . the ruin of British economy . . . world crisis . . . the complete breakdown of monetary systems (New Statesman, 11/22).

Removal of controls would leave Britain

> . . . hopelessly vulnerable to the impact of external forces—e.g., even a minor depression in the U.S. . . . (New Statesman, 11/15).

THE ALTERNATIVE: U.S. investment in raw material development, "even with the proviso that the dollar capital could be spent on buying European goods," wouldn't help much since the underdeveloped areas

> . . . are not willing to wait three or five years for delivery of equipments. . . . the U.S. is always likely to be able to give quicker delivery (Economist, 11/1).

Long-term commodity agreements would give the U.S. even tighter control of raw materials. The **Journal of Commerce** (12/10) said this is simply a way of "restricting production" and in present world conditions any attempt to stabilize prices must "result in failure."

But the Conference communique indicated these plans would be pushed.

So long as Britain rejects the only real alternatives—arms reduction, development of East-West trade, end of overseas commitments—it will have to do as it has before: intensify exploitation of its own and colonial peoples, while giving ground before the U.S. attack. This inevitably means a new and worse crisis. Wrote Joseph Alsop from London (12/3):

> . . . One more crisis is fairly certain to drive the British to give up their hard struggle to maintain themselves as a great world power and our own chief ally.

This is just what Stalin forecast when he wrote that Britain will not "endlessly tolerate" U.S. seizure of its raw materials and markets—but

> . . . will be compelled in the end to break from the embrace of the U.S. . . . and enter into conflict with it in order to secure an independent position and, of course, high profits.

Sanity Corner

"I would rather see a school system in which there are 13,050 teachers—including 50 known Communists—but in which they are not afraid to hear all sides of the controversy than a school system of 13,000 teachers who are afraid to call their souls their own. Freedom in America lives by being free."

—Dean Ernest O. Melby
NYU School of Education
Summer School Conference,
July 24, 1952

•

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To Mr. Brown, GI in Gen. Clark's Korea Army

An original poem by the great Turkish poet NAZIM HIKMET

Mr. Brown,
As doubtless you know
—Or maybe you don't—
We, the Defenders of Peace
    of the Pacific,
    of the Middle East,
    of Asia
Have you been meeting for five days
  in Peking.

Mr. Brown,
I have a question:
Yesterday, Monday, October 6th, about
  5 P.M.,
What were you doing, in Korea?

We were cheering.

Some people from your country
Were presenting bright flowers
From the gardens of Peking
To some people from Korea.

The Koreans were firm, modest,
    a little reserved.
Your folk were warm with love,
  humble.

I, too, as a Turk,
I feel like that in front of a Korean.

They kissed.
With wet eyes
We cheered a long moment.

They were Americans like you.
Maybe one was from your town.
The one in glasses from your block.

Good. And you—
You, Mr. Brown,
Yesterday, about 5 P.M.
What were you doing, in Korea?

Peking, 1952

The real block to Korea peace: exclusion of one-fifth of the world

PRESIDENT-ELECT Eisenhower returned home "out of panaceas" (**Newsweek**, 12/15) but, he said, with "renewed confidence," promising "deeds" not words to "induce the others to want peace, too." All indications pointed to a "hotter war" since "the only positive action Ike can take is step up the fighting" (**Wall St. Journal**, 12/12).

But the press cautioned, as it has done since the failure of UN's fall offensive, that bombing and blockade of China won't insure victory and even a limited offensive requires more manpower than is available or in sight; it reported the military doubtful

> . . . whether the American people are willing to accept the losses inevitable in a showdown offensive (U. S. News, 12/12).

Newsweek (12/15) was uncertain whether an offensive "would be decisive, even if successful."

HEADLINES & SEWERS: The "peace" flurry in UN, set off by India's formula for POW repatriation (purportedly the issue blocking a truce), died down as the resolution was forwarded to Peking which had already rejected it. The rejection was formally repeated. Meanwhile Gen. MacArthur, President Truman and President-elect Eisenhower, three top Americans most responsible for the war at various stages, jousted in a demagogic battle of headlines to evade responsibility for continuation of the most unpopular war in U. S. history.

MacArthur, who had said he knew a "clear and definite solution," offered to reveal it to Eisenhower but pointedly snubbed Truman, his present commander-in-chief. Truman, calling a mammoth press conference (with photographers—usually barred) to denounce Eisenhower's Korea trip as "demagoguery" and MacArthur as a headline-hunter who gave false information, came through at the weekend with more and bigger headlines than either of his rival demagogues. Comment from "one Eisenhower aide": "Truman's statement should be thrown in the sewer" (N. Y. **Times**, 12/14).

THE 3rd WINTER: Meanwhile the "police action" never authorized by Congress, in which the U. S. first intervened, then high-pressured UN approval, "settled down to another hard but rather unspectacular winter" (**NYT**, 12/11). The score to date:

KOREA TODAY

> U. S. CASUALTIES—127,658, more than the combined total in all U. S. history, excluding the Civil War and the two World Wars.
>
> KOREA—Entire country laid waste, with Korean men, women and children dead running into uncounted millions.
>
> RESULT—After 2½ years (nearly ¾ as long as World War II), opposing forces stalemated roughly where they were when the original civil war began.

On the POW issue, any further discussion seemed pointless since the Chinese-N. Koreans insist on observance of the 1949 Geneva Convention calling for prompt and full repatriation; the U. S. (a convention signatory) insists on breaking its agreement for "humanitarian" reasons.

TWO YEARS AGO: MacArthur's reappearance in Korea headlines recalled to the few Americans who ever knew of it how near peace was two years ago, before—and even immediately after—he led UN forces (without UN authorization) over the 38th Parallel in a push to China's Yalu River frontier. Peking had repeatedly warned of the consequences of such an advance, and sent defensive forces to throw it back when its provocative nature was clear. Washington then "bludgeoned" a UN majority (**Wall St. Journal**) into declaring China an "aggressor"—but only over the strenuous opposition of the majority of Asian UN members.

In Jan., 1951, the Asian-Arab group in UN offered a proposal to meet with China and negotiate peace. In that debate India's Sir Benegal Rau told UN that Peking "had agreed to have a cease-fire at the first meeting of the conference." Rau added, as he saw the conference proposal going down to defeat:

> "We want it on the record that when the world was marching toward disaster, we—most of the Asian powers—did all we could to halt the march."

THE EMPTY CHAIR: The conference proposal was defeated because Washington, then as now, refused to recognize the right of the effective government of China (population: more than 1/5 of all humanity) to sit down as an equal with such nations as Luxembourg (pop: same as Jersey City). But China's interests in Korea were recognized by Walter Lippmann, who wrote (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, 8/29/50):

> China and Russia have had a common interest [there] as against Japan or against any other power in the ocean which was allied with Japan. . . . It will always be the case. For in its geography Korea is to China what Florida is to the United States. It is a peninsula which in unfriendly hands, like the Japanese, opened up China to Japanese conquest. . . . We have an interest in Korea, but it is a vicarious interest.

It was when a truce seemed a real possibility that the U. S. raised the POW issue and—as **Kiplinger's** Washington Newsletter remarked (11/29)—made it into a tremendous roadblock to peace.

Yet the real roadblock is the exclusion from all negotiations of the Peking government, to whose stability and popularity such neutral figures as Mrs. Pandit (India's UN delegate and Premier Nehru's sister) have testified. With proper representation for China, the war might have been settled long since. Without it, no limit is visible to the "hard winters" in devastated Korea to which drafted Americans must "settle down."

This is the background against which other Korean proposals on UN's agenda will have to be considered.

82 more PWs killed by American guards

IN the wake of Eisenhower's visit to Korea, and of the UN debate in which the U. S. S. R.'s Vishinsky accused the U. S. of "using force day in and day out in the most atrocious manner" against Chinese and N. Koreans in POW camps, the UN Command announced that on Dec. 14 "UN guards" killed 82 POW's and wounded 120 others on Pongam Island, west of Koje.

It said guards were alerted in advance, claiming it had intercepted plans for a mass outbreak. It described the prisoners as

> . . . massed at the top of a high terrace where three ranks with locked arms defied advancing troops while others above the fight ranks hurled a shower of stones which kept UN troops from ascending the steep inclines.

Prisoners "with locked arms" presumably had no weapons; UNC did not explain why troops were "advancing" against them. **INS** said UNC, "obviously sensitive about the incident," explained the wind made use of tear gas impossible, hence UN soldiers "fired into the ranks." The victims were variously described as "reclassified war prisoners," "civilian internees," "non-military N. Korean Communists captured in the UN advance," and "former inmates" of Koje's compound 62.

CATALOGUE OF HORROR: Peking Radio Nov. 27 broadcast a detailed report based on 26 documents "delivered to the Chinese and Korean side by the Intl. Committee of the Red Cross." According to Peking the documents showed:

> • On Dec. 22-23, 1951, UNC conducted forcible "screening" of POW's in compound 62, killing and wounding 784 prisoners.
>
> • POW's in compound 62 were originally classified against their will as "civilian internees," and demanded they be "restored the status of prisoners of war" because "they would desire when the moment came to be returned to the North."
>
> • A wealth of detail on the "maltreatment and torture" by which compound 62 POW's were to be broken, including the Feb. 27 shootings in which 373 were killed and injured.
>
> • Hitherto unrevealed killings and attacks in Aug. and Sept., 1951.

Peking Radio said the total of POW's killed could not be ascertained. The U. S. press has admitted about 300. The Intl. Red Cross reported last month 13,814 "Communist prisoners in UN hands" had died between the outbreak of war and the end of 1951.

William Stevenson, Toronto **Star Weekly** correspondent, who accompanied British Minister of State Selwyn Lloyd on an inspection tour of Koje and other PW camps, reported in detail (11/22) on the terrorization campaign against Chinese-N.Korean POW's to force them to declare against repatriation (GUARDIAN, 12/18).

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

More PP election figures reported

PP election returns were still coming in, though still too scattered to make possible a total count of all those who voted Progressive for any office. Here are late state reports:

PROGRESSIVE
PARTY
FOR
PEACE

COLORADO: Though no formal state PP existed since 1949, Denver and Boulder progressives staged a petition drive, won the party a place on the ballot, polled 1,919 votes. (In 1948 Wallace, with a functioning organization and much more intense campaign, drew 6,000.) In the steel town Pueblo, PP scored 574—2 less than in 1948—almost without campaigning. Other results: Denver, 725; Boulder, 143; Arapahoe Co., 123.

MONTANA: PP candidate for Railroad and Public Service Commission John Hellman: 6,012 (GOP winner drew 132,716); for U. S. Senator Larry L. Price, 1,828. (Mike Mansfield, D., won support of many liberals, trade unionists to asssure defeat of McCarthyite Ecton). Hallinan-Bass ticket 723.

OREGON: Hallinan-Bass, 3,665.
MINNESOTA: (Duluth only) PP's Le Sueur for U. S. Senate, 540; Frederickson for Gov., 179; Hallinan-Bass, 261.

MINORITY PARTIES PLUNGE: The N. Y. **Times** gave the 28-state total for the PP national ticket as 140,296. PP officials said not all state certifications were yet in, that PP totals in many communities had not yet been counted, said the final total would be near 200,000. Full PP vote, as shown in local balloting, is expected to reach 800,000.

Minority parties as a whole dropped drastically from 5.4% of the total in 1948 to .5%. Small-party totals as reported by **NYT** are: Socialist, 20,189 (17 states); Socialist Workers, 10,306 (7 states); Prohibition, 72,818 (21 states); Socialist Labor, 30,154 (23 states)—only minority party to show an increase (1,093) over 1948.

The Carrion Crow

The carrion crow flies high, flies low
With beak well sharpened and talons steeled
Wheeling over the battlefield
To find the corpse of a boy we knew
(Ah, but his mother knew him, too)
Finding the corpse and dining off it:
And the name of the carrion crow is Profit.

—J. S. Wallace

Eisenhower faces a winter of woe

(Continued from Page 1)

ance of the Russian conditions for all-German elections and unity: that Germany enter no coalition and accept the Oder-Neisse frontier.

Colonial unrest spreads

The flames of national independence, burning across Asia and the Middle East, lit fires in Africa—threatening the foundation of NATO, essentially an alliance of colonial powers.

INDO-CHINA: France was "getting desperate about Indo-China" (**Business Week**, 12/13), demanding NATO aid on threat of evacuation.

IRAN: U.S. oil companies made a major move to take over former British oil interests, when the State Dept. announced it no longer objected to U.S. firms buying Iranian oil despite British threats of lawsuits. The move was dictated by fear that Iran might solve its own problems—a fear spurred by the 44% drop in Iran's trade with the U.S., 65% drop with Britain, and 157% increase in its trade with the U.S.S.R. between first half of 1951 and 1952.

NORTH AFRICA: Mass arrests following the murder of Tunisian nationalist leader Farhat Mached continued in French N. Africa, where a string of U.S. air bases and heavy U.S. mining and milling interests are at stake. In Morocco, where the violence was for a time out of hand, troops fired on demonstrators, demolished buildings with tanks and planes, outlawed the Istiqlal (Independence) party.

SOUTH AFRICA: Among many more arrested for defying the jimcrow laws were Manilal Gandhi, son of the late Mahatma, and 11 white sympathizers including Patrick Duncan, son of a former Governor General of S. Africa.

EGYPT: While Egypt's UN delegate spoke eloquently in New York of freedom for Tunisia, "strong man" Premier Naguib canceled the constitution, proposed a committee to write a new one. He was reported (**NYT**, 12/7) favoring

> . . . a form of government resembling the corporate state idea that was partially developed in Italy before World War II.

UPSURGE ON TUNISIA: UN General Assembly committees were dominated by the problems of colonial and under-developed countries. By the week-end the colonial powers were described as feeling that

> . . . the anti-colonial campaign in UN has already gone too far and that it is high time to restrain or stop it (NYT, 12/13).

A strong resolution on Tunisia, submitted by 13 Arab-Asian nations in the Political Action Committee, called on France to resume negotiations with "true representatives" of the Tunisian people — under supervision of a UN commission — to implement that people's "right of self-determination and fulfillment of national aspirations." Another resolution by 11 Latin American nations merely expressed "hope that the parties will continue negotiations." The Arab-Asian resolution was narrowly defeated (27 to 24) by U.S. pressure and the

> . . . able lobbying of the French Ambassadors in Latin America, reinforced by special aids, such as Paul Reynaud (NYT, 12/13).

The Latin American resolution was approved 45 to 3 after a debate—boycotted by France—in which India's Krishna Menon spoke unequivocally (in contrast to his tortuousness on Korean POW repatriation). Socialist delegations and other Asian speakers were equally blunt. The newly-created Libyan parliament and the World Fedn. of Trade Unions cabled support of Tunisian independence demands.

THE RIGHT TO POSSESS: In the Economic and Financial Committee these actions showed the rising temper of colonial peoples:

- Approved by 31 to 1 (U.S.), with 19 abstentions, was a resolution submitted jointly by Bolivia and Uruguay, and strongly supported by Iran, approving rights of sovereign nations to nationalize their natural resources.
- Approved unanimously was a draft proposal on land reform submitted by Egypt, Indonesia and India, which—though lacking the political, social and economic framework to make reform effective—indicated how strongly it has caught public imgaination in under-developed areas.

AUSTRALIA IS FRANK: In a fantastic vote the Trusteeship Committee approved 25 to 1 an amended 11-power draft resolution—with 24 abstentions, including the 11 sponsors.

The original resolution requested the Trusteeship Council—consisting of an equal number of colonial and non-colonial powers—to allow representatives of Trust Territory peoples to take part, without vote, in discussion of the administering authorities' annual reports. It was sponsored by Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Ecuador, Egypt, Salvador, Guatemala, Indonesia, Syria, Yemen and Yugoslavia. To this, the U.S. offered an amendment, replacing the operative part of the proposal with one which hoped the administering powers

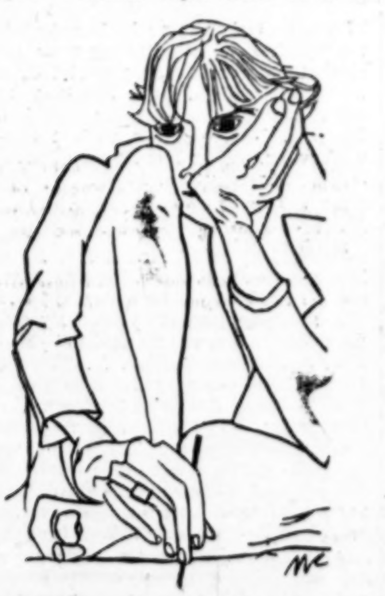
> . . . will find it appropriate to associate suitably qualified indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territories in the work of the Trusteeship Council.

In the course of the debate in a half-empty conference room, with less than a half-dozen correspondents present, Australia's William Forsyth (whose government follows a lily-white immigration policy) made an astonishingly frank speech. Calling the sponsoring nations "presumptuous" for trying to teach the ideals of democracy to powers administering UN Trust Territories, he declared that if the original resolution was approved his government would ignore it.

Many of the sponsors, including Brazil and Burma, strongly protested his arrogant and "uncouth" remarks and manner of speech. Nevertheless, the U.S. amendment was approved, and the amended resolution was adopted—with the Indian delegate's support, but with all the original sponsors abstaining.

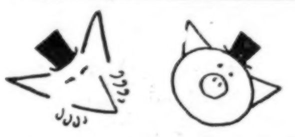
FARHAT HACHED

They would not be silent



Drawing by Mario Casetta

Consider: more than one half of the people on earth are women, and all women want peace.



ITEM: Charles R. Sligh Jr. is the new president of the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers. He succeeds William J. Gred

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FRED STOVER ON THE ELECTIONS—AND AFTER

What's ahead for the small farmers?

By Fred Stover

(Pres., Iowa Farmers Union)

MOST American voters wanted a change. Many were not sure what they were voting for, but quite sure what they were voting against. They voted against the mess in Washington and its related mess in Korea, against "police action," conscription, high taxes and living costs and disparity of incomes.

They voted for Eisenhower's nebulous plan to go to Korea, which carried at least an implied promise of peace. Some farmers voted for his more definite promise of parity. But with farmers, too, peace was uppermost. Farm polls showed 68% in favor of getting out of Korea. Unfortunately very few knew about the Progressive Party candidate.

The Democratic Party deserved to be defeated. The Republicans did not deserve to win. There was little in the Republican platform and less in their record for farmers to vote for. No, it was not a vote **for** the Republican Party, but a vote **against** the Democratic Party. And the main things people voted **against** happen to be the things that most Republican leaders were **for**. Therefore the people will not get the change they thought they voted for **unless they speak out strongly and in great numbers and demand a real change.**

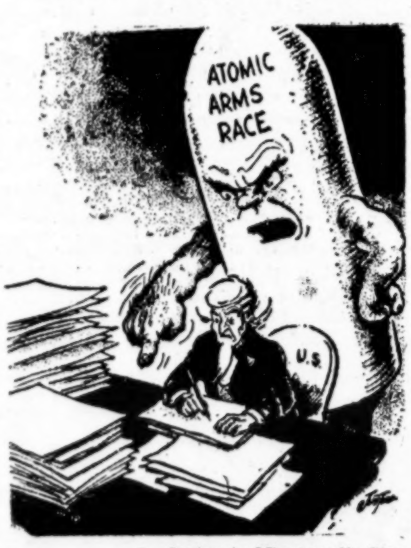
STRAIGHT REACTION: We have no illusions about Eisenhower. The trend towards reaction, fascism and war will be accelerated and without the benefit of liberal double talk with which it has been embroidered under Truman. For the economics of fascism and the politics of fascism go together.

But I do not agree with those who predict that farmers will now lose all they gained in the last 20 years. They don't have it to lose. Most of what they gained under Roosevelt they lost under Truman. Farmers can't lose real supports under farm incomes and effective ceilings over farm costs. They lost that with the ending of the Steagall Amendments, OPA and material allocations.

Farmers can't lose the world markets they had under Roosevelt. They lost them when Truman ended Lend Lease, put a third of the world on the political black list and let UNRRA die.

They can't lose an expanding domestic market created by increased purchasing power of the workers. They lost that with the Taft-Hartley Act, the wage freeze, government witch hunts, loyalty tests and union busting.

Republicans may intensify the drive to eliminate family farmers, but this too was started under Truman.



Justus in Minneapolis Star

DIRECTOR OF THE BUDGET?

THE BIG BOYS ON TOP: We can expect more propaganda to the effect that farmers should not be subsidized, in spite of the fact that farmers have always subsidized and still are subsidizing a rapidly growing industrial population.

We may lose such remnants of a farm program as we still have. Undoubtedly there will be a change in the administration of these programs. The Farm Bureau-Extension crowd will be dominant. Here, too, farmers feel there is not so much left to lose. Instead of the idealistic, devoted battlers for farmers of earlier days, the administrators of today's programs are largely servile payrollers, apologists for Truman's misnamed defense program that is but a cloak for more exploitation.

This gives us the key to why the Democrats lost the election. **They were not defeated by the Republicans. They defeated themselves.**

Stevenson defeated himself by standing pat on Korea and boasting that the Democratic party had a better record of jailing peace leaders than McCarthy.

The Democrats defeated themselves when Truman reversed Roosevelt's foreign policy and cracked down on the progressive peace forces here and abroad. By accepting the false premise that the danger at home and abroad was from the political left rather than the right, Truman and Stevenson helped create the political atmosphere that assured a victory for the most reactionary party.

THE DILEMMA: Democratic leaders, administrators of Government programs and labor and farm leaders who accepted that premise undermined both the interests of their members and the vitality and militancy of their organizations.

By accepting the premises on which U.S. foreign policies are based, and committing themselves and their organizations to it, they deprived themselves of the intellectual, moral, and political independence needed to evaluate the consequences of those policies.

As the premises on which the bipartisans based their dream of world empire are proven false, as the stated objectives of their policies are becoming unattainable—economically, politically and militarily—those committed to it are in a dilemma. They can hardly oppose under Eisenhower what they approved under Truman.

The sentiment for a real change, for a peace program is here. It needs to be organized and it needs to be articulate before it can reorient our policies toward world peace.

The great betrayal of the election mandate that now threatens must not result in political paralysis, but in a chorus of insistent demands that the promises of peace and parity be fulfilled.

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The Pentagon goes underground

INQUIRIES about the new "underground Pentagon," under construction for use in case of above-ground wartime destruction, have been met for a year or more by the Defense Dept. with grim warnings of top secrecy. Last month the Washington **Post** noticed that the entire project is described in a book prepared by the Washington Engineer District, **A Historical Summary of the Work of the Corps of Engineers in Washington, D. C., and Vicinity, 1852-1952.** The **Post** summary (11/7) was illustrated with a photo of a vast, cavernous tunnel "in the Maryland mountains 65 miles north of Washington."

Highlights of the "underground Pentagon" as described in the book:

- **Overall cost to taxpayers: $35 million.**
- **In ten months, 500,000 cubic yards of "the hardest rock on the East Coast" were blasted and removed, a 3-story building erected in the hole.**
- **In addition to heavy steel blast doors closing the tunnel openings in an alert, there are "special means" for "ventilation, gas and biological agent filtering."**
- **A standby global communications center "designed to resist atomic attack. . . ." is located inside Raven Rock Mountain, about five miles east of Fort Ritchie."**
- **Fort Ritchie has been converted to house project personnel; added features are a transmitter station at Greencastle, Pa., and a receiver station at Sharpsburg, Md.**

"Much more costly housing facilities," the **Post** notes, were contracted for and started at Fort Ritchie for emergency use; the Pentagon canceled them, fearing

> **. . . the standby quarters, recreational facilities and clubs planned would become a week-end haven for military brass.**

Napoleon on priestly spies

"My intention is that the house of foreign missions shall be re-established; these religious orders will be very useful to me in Asia, in Africa and in America; I shall send them to get information on the state of the country. Their dress protects them and serves to cover their political and commercial designs. . . . We know how useful these foreign missionaries have been as agents of secret diplomacy in China, in Japan and in all Asia. There are even some in Africa and in Syria; they cost little, are respected by the barbarians and, having no official character, cannot compromise the government nor involve it in scandals; the religious zeal which animates the preachers causes them to undertake labors, and to brave dangers which would be beyond the capacity of a civil agent."

Declaration by Napoleon I, Council of State, May 22, 1804. (Quoted in "Opinions de Napoleon" by Baron Pelet, Firmin-Didot, Paris, 1833).

Josephine Baker challenges racists

JOSEPHINE BAKER, world-famous entertainer, returned to her native U.S. early this year. She became a target for jimcrow offenses by New York's Stork Club, put up a fight, then left. Since then she has been under fire by columnist Winchell and others.

Last month, in Buenos Aires, she gave an interview to the monthly **Verdad.** In it she told of the organization she has founded: the World Assn. Against Racial & Religious Discrimination, with branches in Mexico, China, Japan, the Scandinavian countries, France, Italy and S. Africa. She said the organization's objectives are:

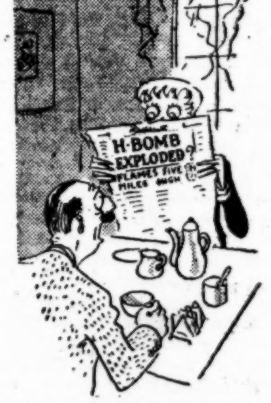
> **". . . To work toward peaceful relations among all peoples of the world and to make known the achievements of colored peoples in the arts, sciences, religions, professional activities and sports. This is very important. Three-fourths of the world's population are colored."**

The organization would fight to abolish racial and religious prejudice, defend those persecuted for their religion or color of their skin, spark an educational movement to achieve a better understanding of the dignity of man:

> **"We are not inspired by hatred nor resentment. Ours is the Christian creed of love. We want the brotherhood of all races and all religions in the peaceful march of civilization. Our weapons? Good will and the education of the peoples to achieve, little by little, some mutual understanding."**

She read to the reporters the news story of the beating of another Negro singer, Pearl Bailey, by four white men in Bill Miller's Riviera Night Club, outside New York City, then said:

> **"Do you see how necessary and how urgent our fight is? Pearl Bailey decided to leave the United States. Before leaving she told me: 'When on my way to Europe I pass the Statue of Liberty, I'm going to ask: Liberty—for whom?'"**



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Well, if those clever scientists maintain their present rate of progress this is probably the last experiment we shall have to wait to be told the result of!"

In the family

THE New York apartment of Dr. Corliss Lamont, ALP candidate for U.S. Senate who drew 100,000 votes, was jammed for last week's exciting GUARDIAN session on China honoring N.Y. construction engineer Henry Willcox, artist Mrs. Anita Willcox, and S. California poet and retired fruit-grower Hugh Hardyman—U.S. delegates to the Peking peace conference.

There are no flies on English-speaking Chinese, they reported: the few dozen GUARDIANS that go to that re-born, happy land pass from reader to reader like a sort of bible of American progressive life, and end up in tatters from passing through so many hands. In fact, there are no flies left in China at all—they've all been purged in the nation-wide clean-up campaign since infected insects began dropping from planes.

W. C. Mueller, (Buffalo) writes that Truman, Taft, Eisenhower and Stevenson have the same befuddlement policy and differ only on how to implement it; they may retard progress but "as long as there are people like those associated with the GUARDIAN, they cannot stop it." Stopping the GUARDIAN will "doubtless be one of the GOP's main aims," writes Maud Harper (Talent, Ore.). Her answer is cash "to help keep the paper going."

"HAPPY BIRTHDAY" wishes on our fourth anniversary come in from everywhere—with most welcome contributions and reports of plans for January birthday parties. Corpus Christi, Tex., just wrote to say they're planning a party. If your party plans are budding or blossoming, tell us about it—we have a lot of ideas.

On our honor roll: **Susan Medvecky** of Newark, N.J.—must have sent us 100 subs in the last year or so. **Fair Taylor** of Seattle—most original N.G. sparkplug of the month (her Guardian Angels Comm. helped serve food at the Washington Pension Union convention, wearing GUARDIANS as hats with the legend "The Guardian serves the Pension Union.") **Nadya Malbin** of Portland, Ore.—$88 raised by her Guardian Boosters from auctioning local artists' work and selling Guardian Angel recipes at a carnival.

FLASH! Subscribers in Los Angeles top 4,000. L. A. blossoming with IPP clubs that want to do a real GUARDIAN promotion job. Election results indicate subscribers could be doubled. L. A. readers with ideas—write exec. editor Jim Aronson who'll be in your city Jan. 15-25.

WHAT THEY WRITE: "Here's my monthly $5. I bitterly regretted missing last month as I felt I had lost face"—**W. F. Saar,** Topeka, Kansas. . . . "It would be a calamity for the common herd to lose their only defender in the entire nation"—**H. E. Fox,** Ashtabula, Ohio. . . . "This $5 from the Thursday Nighters Girls Club"—**Irene Amrich,** Chicago. . . . "Darlings: $5 for cards & usual pledge. Thanks for wonderful gift of this great book (**We Can Be Friends**)—I will pass on to a certain person whom I have subverted to intelligence"— **W. P. C.,** Los Angeles.

And **Barbara Robb** (Detroit) got as far as writing names of two new subscribers—then her husband, Dean, added: "Barbara interrupted this letter to have a big baby girl, 7 lbs. 7 oz., a new Guardian Angel."

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THE 2D NAT'L NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL CONVENTION—II

Jobs and FEPC head the program for 1953

By Eugene Gordon
(Second of two articles)

CLEVELAND, OHIO

TWO images were interwoven in reports by delegates at the Natl. Negro Labor Council convention here. First was the Freedom Train: you came to feel that a train named The Freedom stood outside Municipal Auditorium, steamed up to run non-stop into Freedom Land.

The second image was The Struggle. WHERE THERE IS NO STRUGGLE THERE IS NO PROGRESS; that slogan on a banner stretched above the broad stage. It recurred in most resolutions and speeches. Struggle was the currency paid for riding Freedom Train.

Who's in charge? Octavia Hawkins of Chicago, natl. treas. of NNLC, brushed by me when, greeting a Southern delegation, she heard I was from New York:

> "I want to speak to the people from down home. I know where my liberation's coming from."

Asbury Howard, vice-pres.-at-large from an Alabama mine, shouted above applause in a speech from the platform:

> "These are they who are going to liberate you! These are they you call the New Negro! All aboard Freedom Train!"

All, however, agreed that Negroes and white allies everywhere must help.

BATTLE FOR JOBS: William R. Hood, NNLC natl. president, detailed the Council's progress toward a goal of 100,000 jobs:

- **Cleveland:** Cracked jimcrow hiring and classification policy of Sears-Roebuck; influencing the May Co. to hire Negro saleswomen. Aiming next at Ohio Gas Co.
- **San Francisco:** Sears-Roebuck took on 14 Negro women clerks and cashiers after vigorous 3-week NLC campaign.
- **Chicago:** Drexel Natl. Bank, pressured by NLC picketing, employed Negro administrative asst. Offensive continued against Sears-Roebuck, Scott's 10-Cent Store and Woolworth's.
- **Detroit:** Greater Detroit NLC born in struggle for a Fair Employment Practice Committee ordinance. Broke through discrimination in Great Bear Markets and got jobs as cashiers for Negro women. Forced Sams, Inc., to upgrade Negro woman to sales dept. in one of its two big downtown stores. Persuaded Michigan Scrap Metal Co., with its huge Negro-laborer force, to hire Negro woman switchboard operator. Ford Motor Co., after visit by pres. Hood and exec. secy. Coleman Young—assisted by action from Council members in the plant—began hiring Negro women in front office. Downriver Chapter, Detroit Council, cooperating with civic groups and some labor unions, collected more than enough signatures to put a real FEPC ordinance on the ballot. River Rouge people—75% white—voted it in, 4,180 to 3,175.

WILLIAM R. HOOD
The test is jobs

> "It's now the law. We know it's good because our lawyers wrote it."

THE TEST: Similar and sometimes more thrilling stories came out of Los Angeles, New Jersey, New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Seattle, Tri-State (N.C., S.C., Va.), Louisville, and East Bay (Oakland, Calif.) White delegate John Bojack of Detroit said:

> "This is what tests you on whether you're a real ally of the Negro worker. If you're not going out of your way to get Negroes jobs, you're not an ally."

Tall, straight, dignified 70-year-old Alexander Wright, Pittsburgh, shouted:

> "We Negro people in the United States are the roadblock on the way to fascism!"

THE PROGRAM: Negro women at the convention were first to attack the Smith and McCarran acts, the Walter-McCarran law and the persecution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. They got the Negro men's fighting support.

Scores of the 1,256 delegates from 26 states—45 defied Dixiecrat justice to come North—told of cooperating YM's or YWCA's, and of fighting beside members of the Urban League, NAACP, Right-led unions, and churches. Negro pastors everywhere supported NNLC.

These are highlights of NNLC's 1953 program to make that "roadblock" higher and firmer against fascism and war:

- Intensify the struggle for jobs in industries which have excluded Negroes or hired only token numbers, the campaign being concentrated around passenger airlines throughout the country, hotels in New York, and so on.

Photo by William A. Price

LOOK TO THE FUTURE
Get on board!

- Make the struggle for a federal FEPC a first task of every Negro Labor Council in the U. S.
- Begin during Negro History Week—Feb., 1953—a national membership drive with goals to be reached by June 1, 1953.
- Carry on such regular activities in behalf of Negro workers and job-seekers as are implicit in NNLC's name and constitution.
- Through all these actions build NNLC into a mass organization "mainly of Negro workers willing and capable of financing its struggle for freedom," its base to lie in the Negro community.

Freedom Train's pulling out,
Is moving away—
—Sliding from the station.
I'm on my way to Freedom!
And, Lord, I'm on board!

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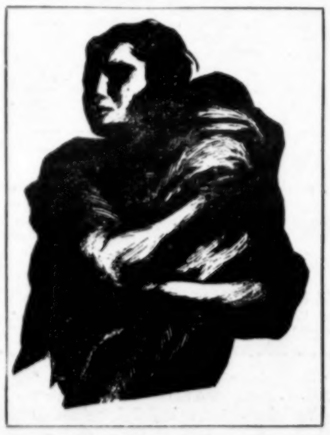

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LATIN AMERICA

Democracy has its day in Venezuela

THE 3-man *junta* government of Venezuela, world's largest oil-exporting country, took power by force and violence from a moderate, elected civilian government in Nov., 1948, won U. S. recognition Jan., 1949. Last month, after four years of bloody repression, it felt it could pass the acid test of an election. Ex-President Romulo Betancourt suggested the government might have thought an election desirable (1) as democratic window-dressing for the 10th Inter-American Conference, to open in Caracas next year; (2) because further oil concessions to be granted to foreign capital should be ratified by some Congress.

The *junta* took all precautions to assure a safe election. Concentration camps were filled up, with some 800 political prisoners and trade unionists on malaria-infested Guasina island alone. (Both CIO and AFL have protested torture and imprisonment of unionists.)

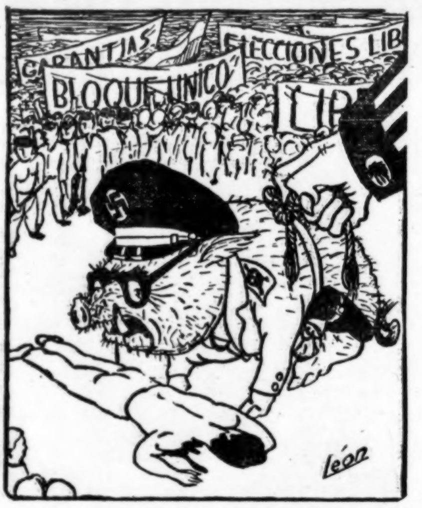
THE UNDERGROUND STREAM: Two legal parties opposed the government: the Rightist, Church-backed Copei and the Democratic Union for a Republic (URD) which offered liberal reforms. The major opposition—including Accion Democratica (AD) which ran the country before 1948, and the Communist Party, of considerable but hard-to-estimate strength among oil workers—was underground. AD urged voters to invalidate their ballots (abstention could bring fines or imprisonment). The CP denounced this tactic, called instead for a vote

> . . . against the candidates of the dictatorship, for democratic candidates. The URD has issued a liberal platform seeking to solve the country's problems.

The CP then criticized URD for not living up to its platform's unity planks, but left no doubt of its support.

Campaign freedom allowed by the *junta* to its legal opposition was limited: URD leaders who spoke too freely about conditions in Guasina were jailed. Leonardo Ruiz Pineda, AD leader most vigorously seeking unified opposition, was shot dead in the street during the campaign.

THE MISSING 24 HOURS: The election seemed so secure that the government was prepared to count ballots honestly. But by 10 p.m. Dec. 1, early returns showed URD well in the lead with 50% of tabulated ballots. After that censorship was clamped down. On Dec. 2, the army declared that one of the ruling triumvirate, Col. Marcos Perez Jimenez, was President (actually the President was to be named by the new Congress in January.) From then on the army issued returns showing the government party FEI (Independent Electoral Front) winning by sizeable majorities.



Noticias de Venezuela, Mexico City

THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

Since then little news has come out of Venezuela but reports from bordering countries told of strikes, student demonstrations, assaults on police stations.

"IT IS TO BE HOPED . . . ": Of all Latin American tyrannies, Venezuela has had the best relations with the U. S. State Dept. Standard Oil, which makes 16c on every $1 it invests elsewhere, makes 36c on each $1 invested in Venezuela. The high return is largely due to speed-up. Oil workers' wages are $5-$8 a day (in U. S.: $16). Living cost is world's highest (shoes $21-$24; cigarettes, 52c; locally-produced butter, $1.23 a lb.) The 97% of the working population who are not oil workers live in unemployment and rural poverty unredeemed by relief measures.

The N. Y. **Herald-Tribune** said of the election:

> Presumably the new President will continue the foreign policy of his predecessors, and this is known to have resulted in excellent relations between Venezuela and the United States. It is to be hoped that he will be able to re-establish constitutional government at an early date. . . .

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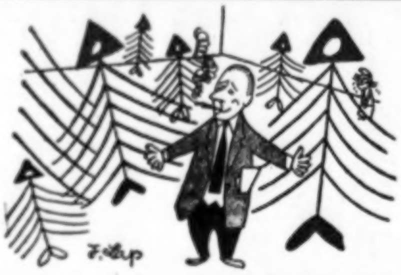
Goebbels hoax now official U.S. doctrine

IN 1939-41 the Nazis overran Poland with a destructive fury unequaled since Genghis Khan; Hitler and his Dr. Goebbels announced in advance the aim of eliminating the Polish people save for those needed as slaves. Some 5,000,000 Poles were slaughtered. One of the Nazis' comparatively minor butcheries, that of several thousand Polish officers in Katyn forest near Smolensk, U. S. S. R., was later investigated by a Soviet commission including Alexei Tolstoy and the Orthodox Church's Metropolitan Nikolai, who made a detailed and conclusive report (issued as a supplement to News, Moscow, 3/15/52).

By last week virtually the whole U. S. press and most political "leaders" had accepted as settled fact the Goebbels theory of the Katyn massacre: that the Russians did it. A special House committee, spending taxpayers' money liberally to prove Goebbels was right, had given courteous hearings in Berlin to Nazi war criminals, one of whom gave the Nazi salute to the Congressmen as he took the oath.

"THE MAN WHO KNEW": Goebbels had sought to back his accusations by sending non-Germans on "investigating commissions" to Katyn before the Nazis were thrown out of the U. S. S. R. and Poland. One man forcibly included on a "commission" in 1943 was Sofia medical academy dean Prof. Marko Markov. The House committee wrote Markov asking if he "still maintained the opinion on Katyn he expressed in 1943." Markov replied describing what happened to his "commission": its members, having been shown no evidence whatever of Russian guilt, were herded by the Gestapo into barracks where they signed a Nazi-prepared "report of findings." He said he had not changed his opinion—but it was then, and is now, that the Nazis did it.

Main U. S. witness for the Goebbels thesis was Col. John H. Van Vliet, who was sent on a Katyn excursion while a POW in Germany. A "top secret" report by Van Vliet, "proving" the Russians' guilt, was "lost" in Washington, possibly—the committee sought to show—with connivance of New Deal officials. **U. S. News**, summing up the "real story" of Katyn (12/5), pictured Van Vliet as the man who "knew the facts" and was "ordered to keep silent."



Canard Enchaine, Paris

Christmas trees, 1952 motif.

"MURDEROUS" FDR: A former POW in Germany who was in the same camp with Van Vliet, Australian Maj. (retd.) Leo Probyn, came up with another story quoted in the **Australian News-Review**. He recalled talks with Van Vliet after the latter's return from the Katyn trip:

> He [Van Vliet] then informed me that it was his opinion the atrocity must have been committed by the Germans as the bodies were in such a good state of preservation. He had formed this opinion because of the time elapsed between the German occupation [of the Katyn region] and the "discovery" of the dead, i.e., 18 months.

Seven years after Goebbels killed himself, the hoax was working in the U. S. better than he could have hoped. Wrote **U. S. News:**

> Congress can be expected to press further for the U. S. to indict Russia for Katyn. . . . Investigators suggest that Korean prison camps . . . might be operating on the Katyn pattern of selective murder. . . . The Madden Committee voices suspicion that "Katyn may well have been a blueprint for Korea." . . . The U. S. has not heard the last of Katyn.

The Chicago **Tribune** in a Katyn editorial (11/14), indicated how much more it was hoped to achieve by rewriitng history according to Goebbels:

> The investigation of the Katyn Massacre may yet lead to an impeachment trial of the man [Nuremberg prosecutor, Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson] who prosecuted Germans in order to cover up the fact that . . . Mr. Roosevelt took this country into war for the satisfaction of his murderous instincts.

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SEE PAGE 2

Amnesty drive on for 11 Communists

WITH the slogan, "Christmas Time Is Amnesty Time," a national committee last week was seeking the release of 11 Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act in 1951 and now serving five-year sentences in various federal prisons. At the same time, another committee in Los Angeles was working to reverse convictions against 14 CP leaders there (they are free on bail pending appeal).

The Natl. Comm. to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims (Rm. 644, 799 Broadway, N. Y. C. 3), headed by Dr. Edward K. Barsky, Rev. Richard Morford and Carl Marzani, pointed to historical U. S. traditions of granting amnesty in political cases. Jefferson, on assuming the Presidency in 1800, freed all victims of the Alien and Sedition Laws. President Johnson granted amnesty to many who had been convicted of overt opposition to the Federal government during the Civil War. In 1898 Gov. Altgeld freed the remaining victims of the Haymarket frame-up (four had earlier been hanged).

HARDING & DEBS: President Wilson freed some of the victims of the "red" hysteria of World War I. His successor, Harding, commuted the sentence against Eugene V. Debs two days before Christmas, 1921, and freed 23 other political prisoners. There were still 165 political prisoners in jail when Calvin Coolidge took office; he freed them all.

Franklin Roosevelt restored full civil rights to all World War I prisoners, and freed Earl Browder from a jail sentence while he was still head of the CP. California's Gov. Olson granted a full pardon to Tom Mooney who had originally been sentenced to death. President Truman in 1947 set up an Amnesty Board which restored freedom to many war-time conscientious objectors and Japanese-Americans who had been imprisoned; this year he commuted the death sentence against Oscar Collazo who killed a White House guard.

FREEDOM'S CHARTER: Basing themselves on such precedents, a group of 280 prominent citizens last week wrote the President that amnesty for the Smith Act prisoners "would go far to combat the mounting attacks on the rights of non-communists" and should be granted on "simple humanitarian considerations." They said:

> **In the spirit of the American Declaration of Independence and its principles of liberty and equality, we respectfully urge that you grant amnesty to the imprisoned leaders of the Communist Party of the U. S. and thereby give added meaning and added strength to our country's basic charter of freedom.**

N. Y. TRIAL TO JURY: But other Smith Act trials ground on or were in the offing. New York's nine-month trial of 13 top CP leaders was headed for the jury this week; the defense had abruptly rested its case on Dec. 3 after putting only three witnesses on the stand (the government had used ten).

The defendants cited the "intolerable financial drain" of the trial—weekly costs ran from $3,000 to $5,000—and charged that one aim of the Justice Dept. was to cripple the party financially. They also cited the expense of the 13-month-long hearing before the McCarran Subversive Activities Control Board.

The defendants held that they had already "effectively refuted" the government's charge that they had conspired to advocate its overthrow. The day following her 32 days of testimony on the witness stand, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn went to jail to serve a 30-day sentence for contempt of court for refusing to give names demanded by the prosecution; she insisted she would not "turn informer." Final summations by both sides began on Dec. 11.

PITTSBURGH DELAY: A judge's illness caused postponement until after Jan. 1 of the trial of five Smith Act defendants in Pittsburgh. Selection of a jury had already begun when the halt came. A desperate effort by the defense to move the trial from Pittsburgh because of the flaming prejudice whipped up there against the victims had been turned down by the Supreme Court.

Defendant Steve Nelson, ill and under a separate 20-year sentence on a charge of violating a state sedition law, was returned to the County Workhouse at Blawnox where he was promptly put in solitary confinement in a bare, dark heatless cell with a diet of bread and water. Spirited protest finally won his release from the dungeon last week.

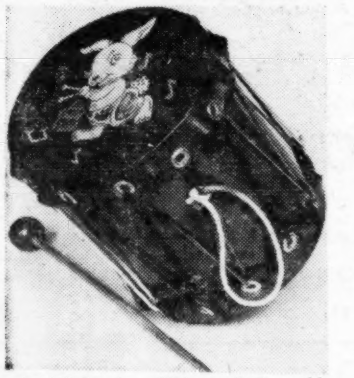
HAWAII—7 WEEKS: In Hawaii a Smith Act trial of seven defendants, including Jack Hall, regional director of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, is going into its seventh week with the government's fourth witness on the stand.

ST. LOUIS—NO COUNSEL: In St. Louis, Mo., five persons were arraigned on Smith Act charges last week; three of them are still held in jail for inability to meet exorbitant bail. One of the defendants reported that 54 individual lawyers and firms had been canvassed, but that no defense counsel has yet been secured.

Other Smith Act trials are pending for six defendants in Detroit and seven in Seattle.

GUARDIAN HOLIDAY BAZAAR

TOM TOM DRUM



A delight for children. Red or blue lithographed metal shell 6¼" x 7", with attractive bunny picture on top rubber head. Laced with colorful, braided cord. Included is a special safety double headed mallet. Makes deep, resonant tone ....ppd. **$3**

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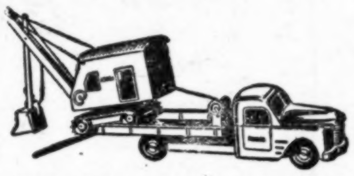

Truck has removable loading skid, crank operated winch with steel chain. Hood raises to reveal "Fireball" motor. Steam shovel's cab revolves, crank controls automatic unloading. 21½" long. Truck has rubber wheels; steam shovel has rubber tractor treads. All steel.

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No. R 6.	Pure linen, hemstitched, in peach only	72x 72	7.50
No. R 10.	White on white, floral design, hemmed	56x108	10.50
No. R 12.	Closely woven linen from select combed flax with white on white floral design and blue border, with 6 napkins	60x 83	8.50

FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA:

No. C 2.	Open work, 6 napkins, gold, green or white	52x 70	$ 8.50
No. CD 7.	White on white damask, 8 napkins, hemstitched	60x 90	15.00
No. CD 8.	White on white damask, 12 napkins, hemstitched	70x 108	23.00

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No. 179.	Irish Linen Men's Handkerchiefs, hemstitched, 18"	$5.75 per doz.
No. 552.	Irish Linen Men's Handkerchiefs, hand rolled, 18"	6.25 per doz.
No. 759.	Irish Linen Ladies Handkerchiefs	6.25 per doz.
No. 800.	Irish Linen Ladies Handkerchiefs, hemstitched, 11"	3.00 per doz.

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51 Gauge, 15 Denier
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51 Gauge, 15 Denier, Black Seam
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Box of 3 pairs.......ppd. **$3.50**
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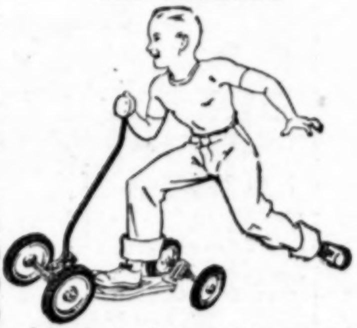

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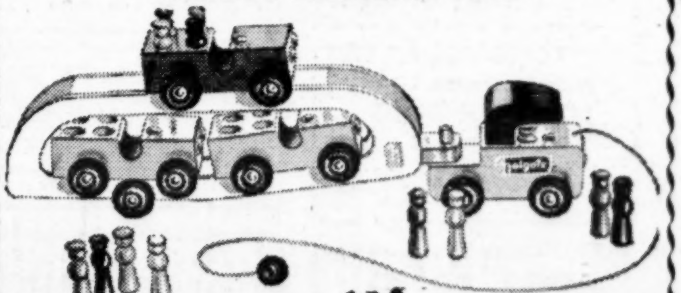

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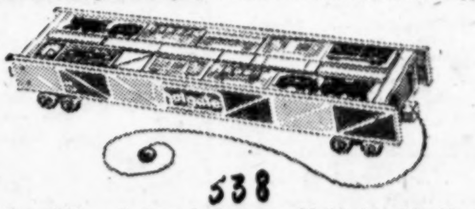
No. 638. AUTO CONVOY TRAILER. For children from 2 to 8 years. Always popular because of action in loading and unloading of the three Jeeps. Good for imaginative play ....ppd. **$5**



538

No. 538. For children 2 through 8 years. 38 blocks with 10 of them stencilled to represent railroad cars and equipment. Child can construct railroad station, freight house, other buildings as well as freight and passenger trains. In colorful "gondolacar" measuring 28" long. 2 engine blocks, 5 car blocks, 1 ticket office, 1 clock block, 1 tank car, 3 oblongs, 8 squares, 4 diagonals, 5 pillars, 5 columns, 1 Gothic arch, 1 half circle.

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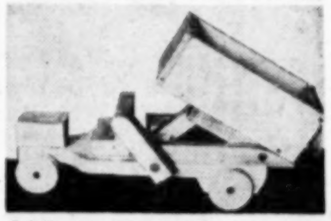

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